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VOL. VII.—NO. 45. NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 6, 1898. PRICE 3 CENTS.

NEW BEDFORD.

A Situation that Cries out Loudly For Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance Organization.

BRING IN THE LIGHT OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

The Exploitation of the Workers by the Capitalist Class Carried on Shamelessly With the Aid of Union Officers, Who are Given Stock in the Companies and Elected to the Legislature, Labor Laws are Violated and the Wrong is Left Unredressed.—A Condition of Things that Convicts Pure and Simple Unionism of Stupidity, Corruption and Inhumanity.

NEW BEDFORD, Jan. 31.—The present struggle of despair carried on by the textile workers differs in nothing from the struggles that these wage slaves have carried on during the last four years. How exactly it will end is not yet clear. It may possibly end in a compromise, like the great strike of 1894. In that year the workers resisted a wage reduction of 10 per cent., and finally compromised on 5. Then, as now, the poor manufacturers complained of "bad times," and declared that the low rate of profit under which the mills were running compelled a retrenchment of expenditures. And yet, the New Bedford cotton manufacturers who, according to the census, operated an aggregate capital of $14,036,446, drew, despite the "bad times" an aggregate profit of $1,343,027, or $149,225 per firm, i. e., 10 per cent. The cost of production had been so far reduced through wage reductions that, before the cut of 1894, the average wage of the New Bedford textile workers was barely $349 per year, while in Fall River wages were still lower, averaging only $336.

Thereupon came the 5 per cent. cut, and, on top of that, now comes this cut of 10 per cent. If the language of the companies' officials is to be credited, even the present wage of the textile workers is of such magnitude that it can afford to stand the paring off of many a slice. Only a few days ago, N. P. Kerr, the superintendent of the Grinell mill, stated to the press that the average earnings of "his" men amounted to $12 a week! This amount is considered so high that, not only the capitalist papers, but even the sensation sheets, who love to masquerade as "friends of labor" so as to be the better able to lead the labor vote by the nose, hastened to announce this wonderful income to the world!

Indeed, there are some individual textile workers who rejoice in comparative good wages. Among them are, in the first place, the mule spinners; they make up to $14 a week; some few go up as far as $16. But the number of these becomes ever smaller. It was shortly before the last strike, about three and a half years ago, when the Boston "Journal of Commerce" pointed out that there were more people employed than necessary under economic management. It said: "There are many factories using very poor machinery—machinery that has been in operation from 20 to 30 years. These are badly constructed, can be operated only at a slow rate of speed; and require more hands, with smaller results, than better machinery that occupies no more space and hardly needs greater mechanical forces to yield from 25 to 30 per cent. more products. The fact is that many of our factories are stocked with machinery that should long have been in the scrap-heap, and supplanted with new ones." This message did not fail to receive proper attention from the manufacturers. Improved looms have been since introduced in most of the New England States, thereby displacing thousands of operatives: only in these days a Maine manufacturer pointed out that a worker can produce there 30 per cent. more than 5 years ago; but above all, the effort has been a steady one to displace the better paid textile workers, the mule spinners. The result thereof soon became visible: In New Bedford there are now at the utmost 350 mule-spinners; the rest have become "frame-spinners"; these are women and children earning at the utmost $4.50 a week on an average. Nowadays, the mule-spinners work almost exclusively on the finest yarn, that can not yet be worked on the frames. Yet the latter are steadily improved; already they are working yarn of the better quality; eventually they will supplant the mule.

The mule-spinners are thoroughly organized; but the development just mentioned is steadily increasing the number of unemployed among them.

Of the striking weavers in this town, hardly 700 belong to the organization of the trade; the organized workers in the other branches are a still smaller fraction. They are all still holding well together. Unfortunately, however, there are, among the spinners especially, some who begin to agitate against the weavers, seeing that the weavers are determined upon their demand for the abolition of the fines system.

This system is one of the most infamous products of the capitalist system to rob the workers. In 1893 the Massachusetts Legislature enacted a law prohibiting the use of this system of fines. But the manufacturers never obeyed it. The unions have preferred many a charge in Court for the violation of this law. A case once went up as far as the Supreme Court, and WAS THERE PROMPTLY DECIDED AGAINST THE WORKINGMAN. The weavers are making the same experience with their "labor laws" as their fellow sufferers, the miners and other workingmen. All these laws are worthless unless the workers are politically organized and elect their own men upon a class-conscious working class political platform. Only then will they be able to enforce labor laws.

The writer was assured that the fines squeezed out of the weavers by the New Bedford Mills runs up annually from $50,000 to $70,000. The plundered workingman has the right to complain; but if he exercises this right he is promptly given an opportunity to look for work outside the city limits. When the officials of the mill inflict a fine on an operative, they never think of justifying their act. The cloth may be bad owing to bad raw material, or some other reason beyond the weaver's control; it makes no difference. On pay-day he gets his wages minus the fine; and that's the end of it.

A short time ago a weaver resorted to a heroic method to protect himself against loss. But he fared ill. He had decided rather to lose his place than to submit to an unjust fine. He took the stuff he had woven, declared he would hold it in pawn until he was paid. He was not far from the factory before he was arrested and hauled up before the Magistrate. He there declared that every day the company was violating the law with impunity, he therefore considered he could keep the stuff he had woven as security for his wages. The Judge was of a different opinion. He showed that the company could break the law to wrong the workers, but that the workingman is beyond the pale of the law. He sentenced him to 60 days imprisonment for theft.

To abolish this system of fines the weavers are straining all their efforts.

This demand, they say, is of more importance to them than even the question of wage reduction. As to the reducing of wages, say they, the manufacturers can do that any time they want; all they have to do is to pay less. If the worker objects, he is told he can go.

The present complaint of the manufacturers about "bad times" is as unjustified now as last time. None of the New Bedford manufacturers has made less than 6 per cent. during the last year, and in the largest mills they made 16 per cent. profit. Besides these dividends, the principal stockholders draw salaries ranging up to $20,000 a year as "Superintendents," "Treasurers," etc.

There are among the union officers and influential members a number of Socialists; unfortunately, however, there are also several capitalist politicians. Of the latter class, the most prominent is one Samuel Ross, secretary of the mule-spinners. He is also a member of the Legislature. He was put up by the manufacturers' party (Republican), and has been repeatedly elected. His friend, Matthew Hart, the secretary of the Weavers' Union, allowed himself three years ago to be set up by the Democrats, but failed of an election in Republican New Bedford. To-day he and Ross are in one boat. Among the weavers, the story goes that Ross is a stockholder in the Whitman Company. Certain it is that about five years ago he was a plain spinner; he now owns several houses in New Bedford, and his property is estimated at $60,000.

Such is the all around miserable situation of the workers of New Bedford.

M. F.

ONWARD FOR THE 100,000.

Call of Indiana for State Convention and Address to the Workingmen.

To the Sections S. L. P. of Indiana—At a regular meeting of State Committee, Socialist Labor party, it was duly moved and carried:

That the Socialist Labor party of Indiana take part in the election for State officers this fall with a full ticket of its own. This will make it necessary to hold a State convention. The Sections are hereby requested to vote on the following propositions:

1st—On what date shall the convention be held?

2d—Where shall the convention be held?

3d—The result of the voting shall be in the hands of the Secretary of State Committee, E. Viewegh, 808 Iowa street, Indianapolis, Ind., no later than March 1. It is also requested to give the full vote, either for or against the proposition.

The State Committee respectfully suggests Indianapolis as the place and May 29 as the day of holding the convention.

Comrades: One earnest word to you. It is not necessary to go into details to explain the reason for our action. It has been told too long and often. Every rising sun brings along fresh and new justification for our cause and tactics.

Hand in hand with the demoralization of the worker on the field of industry the modern capitalist is trying to wrest from you the last and strongest weapon in your hands—the ballot. No doubt you have noticed the attempts in the States of Rhode Island, Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina. This will be followed up in all the other States if the proletariat does not promptly take proper action.

Befuddled by the false doctrines taught to him by reformers, so called—labor fakirs and soulless capitalists—the dissatisfied workingman is wound up in a web of fallacies, is steeped in the darkness of despair. He cries for help, which will and must come and can only come by the overthrow of the present capitalist system of society and the introduction of the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth.

Comrades, workers, every honest man in Indiana, fall in line! Give quickly the right answer to the attempts to rob you of your vote. Forget not the many indignities heaped on you! Join the Socialist Labor party in mass!

The Indiana State Committee, S. L. P.
E. VIEWEGH, Secy.

CHOCTAW TALMAGE.

The Solution Offered by Reverend Ignorance.

Unable to Perceive that the Very Misery which the Privately Owned Machine Throws the People into is an Index of the Blessing the Machine Would be Under Socialist Ownership, the Choctaw Intellect of a Talmage Cries out Anathema Upon the Machine—The Power over Nature that Science Imports has its Obverse in the Cowering Attitude of Ignorance.

"God will halt the inventive faculty which by producing a machine that will do the work of 10 or 20 or 100 men and women, will leave that number of people out of work. I hope that there will not be invented another sewing machine or reaping machine or corn thrasher or any other new machine for the next 500 years. We want no more wooden hands and iron hands and steel hands and electric hands substituted for men and women, who would otherwise do the work and get and earn the livelihood."

The above passage, taken from a sermon delivered in Washington, D. C., on the 16th of last month, is the contribution of the Rev. De Witt C. Talmage to the understanding and solution of the great Social Question!!!!

A Choctaw Indian, standing before the majestic cascade of Niagara, without equipment to see the evolution back of the great phenomenon before him; unable, in consequence, either to understand what he actually sees, much less to project himself into the future—such is the picture that corresponds to the sight of the Rev. Talmage before the gigantic Social Question, and the emanations from his Choctaw intellect.

At sight of the imposing, grand phenomenon of social and industrial evolution; at sight of the gigantic strides of the human intellect; at sight of the combined product of these—the machine—; at sight of its actual and present infliction of increasing want to increasing numbers; at sight of all this, the Choctaw intellect of a Rev. Talmage is overpowered; it sees no solution other than the stoppage of industrial evolution, the blasting of the human intellect, the standstill or retrocession of the race. His Choctaw intellect brings a Choctaw solution.

Otherwise with the Socialist—the legitimate child of XIXth Century Civilization, his mind illumined with all the science of his age, his heart ablaze with all the aspirations of his race. Him the astounding phenomenon of modern civilization does not scare off his feet and cause to fly back into the dark past for asylum. He sees before him that child of the accumulated science and experience of the race—the machine; he perceives the law it is a child of, to wit, the human need of freedom from arduous toil for the necessaries and luxuries of civilized life; he perceives that this boon is suppressed and made to accrue to a few only; he looks closely at the mystery, and instead of Choctaw-like flying back for safety, he leaps forward, guided in his action by the clear perception of the secret of the mysterious contradiction that is involved in the capacity for universal well-being accompanied by well-nigh universal wretchedness; the mystery he discovers lies in the system of ownership; and he takes his stand upon the principle that the modern tool of production—the machine—must be made the property of the race.

The Choctaw Talmages say "Back, back to barbarism, where the freedom and well-being of all is impossible;" the Socialist says: "Forward, forward to the Socialist Commonwealth, where, thanks to this very machine, that terrifies the Choctaws, the well-being of all is assured!"

The welcome signs are multiplying of the disintegration of the tapeworm strikingly called by its Hinglish Horganizers the A. F. of Hell. Its several links are clapperclawing with one another. The latest incident in this line took place end of last month in Lowell, Mass.

At a meeting of textile workers in that town, held last January 27 to consider the pickle in which the "onward moving" A. F. of L. placed them, there turned up the egregious labor fakirs Henry S. Mills, of the National Union of Textile Workers, and T. F. Tracy, a horganizer of the A. F. of L. Disgusted at the sight of these men, who are ominous crows in the labor movement, the meeting grew indignant, and the two were peremptorily refused the privilege of addressing the body.

Tracey was told to get out or he would be thrown out.

"We have no use for the American Federation of Labor or its representatives," said a delegate. Then, turning to Mr. Mills, he said:

"You get —— —— out, too. We don't want any of your speechmaking. We're sick of it."

The recent communal elections held in the canton of Bern, Switzerland, gave the Radicals 45,634 votes, the Socialists (Labor Union and Vorwaerts Section) 40,252, and the Conservatives 21,411.

The Radicals elected 9 municipal councilors, the Socialists 8, and the Conservatives 5.

The Radicals lost 5 seats, the Conservatives lost 2, the Socialists gained 7.

Bern is the federal capital of Switzerland.

OUR ITALIAN LETTER.

Some Recent Socialist Events South of the Alps.

Grand Celebrations of the First Anniversary of the Socialist Daily Paper "Avanti"—Interesting and Humorous Features of the Occasion—Capitalist Persecution—A Prosecuting Attorney Makes it a Special Charge Against Socialist Agitators that they Tell the Truth—A Magnificent Poster, whose Silent Eloquence, Enrages the Swash-Buckler Police.

ROME, Jan. 23.—In many cities of Italy at Christmas and New Year's the Socialists celebrated with enthusiasm the first anniversary of their daily journal, "Avanti." Entertainments, with music, addresses, gifts and dancing, were held. Contributions of money were made for the support of the journal, so that for many days the published list of donations has been much longer than usual. Here in Rome, where "Avanti" is published, our Comrades worked hard for a successful celebration. Large illustrated posters advertising "Avanti" were printed in great numbers and sent over the country. The day after their issue in many places, even on the University Building, the poetic eyes of the Romans were attracted or repelled, according to the politics of the beholder, by the sight of those posters with our cheerful red banner and in large letters the inspiring device "Avanti" (Onward), which is one of our most appropriate watchwords and the name of many of our Socialist journals.

Having come to Rome to study until summer, I had the pleasant opportunity of attending our Comrades' anniversary here. Tickets were given out at the office of "Avanti," which is pleasantly located in one of the principal streets, Via del Corso 397, and also at the journal's printing house, Via Coppelle 35. The entertainment was held the evening of December 26th in the spacious rooms of the "Federagione del libro," near the Tiber, Via S. Bartholomeo ai Vaccinari. The hall was decorated with garlands of flowers, and had the motto "Union Is Strength" over the platform. On the walls were portraits of Karl Marx and prominent Socialists. Soon after 8 o'clock the hall and five connecting rooms were crowded. Comrade Roseth, of the Committee of Arrangements, first welcomed the audience, expressing the interest of the Socialists in their journal and their earnest hope for its prosperity. Then the Honorable Bissolati, deputy and director, gave a short address, in which he related the persecutions and difficulties the party had to overcome in establishing its daily journal. He stated the Socialist programme for the future, expressing hope for the constantly increasing influence and success of the party. He was warmly applauded. Next, the Honorable Deputy Morgari spoke with animation of "Avanti's" management, and was heard with much interest and applause. A short concert followed, given by Alfredo Fabrini, tenor; Giuseppe Fioravante, baritone, and Cesare Tondini, bass, with Professor Ernesto Frontoni as pianist. Selections from "Forza del Destino," "Ugonotti," "Pagliacci," "Rigoletto" and "Puritani," ending with the "Inno dei Lavoratori," were sung with much appreciation. Then there was dancing and a distribution by a humorous lottery of the presents, some valuable and some comic, which were arranged and numbered on tables in one of the side rooms. One Comrade, in consideration of the extreme youth of the Socialist journal and the fact that its editor has the beautiful name Cherubino, presented "Avanti" with a doll, dressed in white like a cherub, which was placed among the gifts for the children, together with an American owl and a paint box with models, for making pictures of a lion on the war-path, and a peaceful lambkin. The Comrades enjoyed their celebration thoroughly, and it was of profit to the journal, for Comrade Mongini, who had charge of the gifts, says that a good sum was cleared for the support of "Avanti."

In Florence, where there are many Socialists, our Comrades went about New Year's day with red pinks in their buttonholes, distributing copies of "Avanti" and its advertising posters. They held a crowded entertainment that evening in Goldoni Theater. A bust of Karl Marx was mounted on a pedestal in front of the red banner. On the wall, in large letters, were the words: "Long live the Socialist Journal 'Avanti'!" There was a stand with Socialist literature on sale and leaflets were distributed. Enrico Ferri, Professor of Criminal Law in the University of Rome and of Brussels, having returned from his lecture tour in Paris and Brussels, gave the address of the evening. As he appeared he was greeted with shouts of "Viva il Socialismo!" He spoke for an hour and twenty minutes on the work of "Avanti" in relation to the political events of the year. He was often interrupted by applause, and at the close of his brilliant discourse received an enthusiastic ovation. A dramatic and musical entertainment followed. A good amount was contributed for "Avanti's" support.

Since coming to Rome I have bought "Avanti" in many different places out of interest to know if it is on sale everywhere. It has happened very seldom that I have enquired for it without finding it on sale. In Germany our daily Socialist journal, the Berlin "Vorwärts" was not allowed to be sold in a railway station or any government building. But here in Rome "Avanti" is always sold and in sight, at the newspaper stand inside the entrance hall of the main post office. One day, buying it on the corner of the great business street, "Via Nazionale," the dealer told me he had "Avanti" on sale, but that he always kept it hid. I asked, "Why do you hide it? It's the best paper in Italy." He smiled and said "I keep it out of sight because it's sometimes confiscated." On enquiring afterwards at the office when buying Socialist literature, I was told that in its short life of one year "Avanti" has had its daily issue confiscated twenty-five times! In spite of this watchful care on the part of the Government, the Italian Comrades are energetically defending and supporting their journal. One poor Comrade, who had made many sacrifices to help the party, left at his death all his remaining property, a pathetically small number of dollars, for "Avanti's" fund. In the lists of its supporters are seen the names of persons of many different professions, doctors, lawyers, clergymen, students, teachers, etc. A short time ago an Italian priest brought down the wrath and maledictions of his superiors upon his benevolent head by publicly advocating Socialism.

The establishment of this daily journal is a great gain for Socialism in Italy. The Socialist party now has 17 deputies in the Italian Parliament, and there are more than 100,000 Socialist voters. Despite their poverty, our Comrades here carry on their work of Socialist propaganda.

"Avanti" contains much on foreign politics. Comrade Gabriele Ealantara, the caricaturist, furnishes many amusing contributions. In one of the last numbers of "Avanti" he has a very pretty illustration of the tender interest the countries of Europe now have for China. Under the title "Among great European capitalists (the moral of the promoters of civilization)," is a picture representing three capitalists, a Russian, a German and an Englishman, standing in front of a large wall map of China which they regard with tender affection. Beneath is the following conversation:

The Russian Capitalist—"I will build the railroads."

The German—"I will develop the mines."

The Englishman—"I will trade off the goods which are lying in the warehouses."

In Chorus—"And we will find Chinese laborers for two cents a day!"

In Italy the Socialists are closely watched by the police and government officials, although there is not the never ending procession of condemnations for "Majestäts-Beleidigung" as in Germany. Two Socialists, named Medri and Ravaioli, in Forli, who had just been released from prison, were summoned to court anew to answer the charge of having disturbed the public peace by distributing circulars relating the truth about their imprisonment. It was considered an insult to their judges that they dared question the justice of their condemnation. A royal procurator vindicated himself for having confiscated an issue of "Avanti" by candidly saying that "Even the mere statement of true facts can stir up hatred." "Avanti" comments thereon that "Truth is, then, the great sorceress!"

Although the anniversary advertising posters of "Avanti," as will be seen from the one I send THE PEOPLE [The beautiful poster, here referred to, is conspicuously posted in this office, and is admired by all visitors of THE PEOPLE] contain no revolutionary proclamation beyond the words "Second year. Rome. 'Avanti!' Socialist journal in defence of labor, of justice, of liberty," with a picture of Socialism personified as a beautiful woman holding a red banner, and beneath the address of the journal with the subscription terms (5 centesimi a number and 15 lire a year, Via del Corso 397, Rome), they were seized upon by the police in several places and confiscated, for instance in Forli, Cesena, Modena and Bologna. Every day reports come in from places where the police were not pleased with the appearance of the cherubic "Avanti's" gala-day manifesto.

There is great excitement in Apricena; a few days ago the Socialist Section there, composed of about 300 members, was dissolved by the prefect on the charge of "inciting class hatred." Does the prefect imagine that this tyrannic action will increase the affection of the working class for the employers' class?

I have written nothing on the ministerial crisis for the Comrades see enough about it in the American papers.

With the best wishes and New Year's greetings for THE PEOPLE and the American Comrades.

THEODORE RITTER.

A branch of the small traders' class—the retail shoe dealers and repairers—in Cincinnati is helping in good style to expose the false pretences of this class at large when it demands the assistance of the working men in their "struggle against the grinding heel of monopoly that grinds down the public with high prices and labor with low wages."

These fuglemen of freedom in Cincinnati have just organized the "Retail Shoe Dealers', Makers', and Repairers' Association." And what are its avowed objects?

To protect the public against the "grinding heel" of high prices? No!—"TO PROTECT THE MEMBERS AGAINST THOSE WHO ARE CUTTING PRICES ON REPAIRS"!!

And its other object, is it to protect labor against the "grinding heel of low wages"? No!—"TO PROTECT THE MEMBERS AGAINST THE UNREASONABLE (!?) DEMANDS OF THEIR EMPLOYES"!!

The middle class is not up in arms against tyranny, nor is it up in arms for freedom. It is up in arms against the tyrannous effect upon itself of the tyranny that it is but too willing to exercise upon others.

For a paladin of freedom it is the most ridiculous caricature out.

THAT BANQUET.

False Cry Raised by the Boss Class and its Political Head.

The Manufacturers and their President Meet in Banquet and Seek to Hide the Dishonor With Which they Reek by Putting on the Mask of Honor—Contemporaneous Events that Tear off the Mask and Reveal the True Features of the Class in Whose Hands the Reins of Government have been and are now Held—No Juggling With Honor!

A manufacturers' banquet was held in this city last week. On that occasion President McKinley came from Washington and delivered a speech. The motto of his speech was: "No juggling with honor!" The occasion and the address were characteristic. To appreciate the fact, the following contemporary items must be placed as a background to the "No juggling with honor" banquet.

First: On January 27, in Philadelphia, George Walsh, 51 years old, having no home, was arrested at Seventh street and Girard avenue, on the charge of maliciously smashing a window of the cigar store of William Dingee, Franklin and Poplar streets, with a stone. Walsh made a statement when taken to the Tenth and Thompson streets station, that he had been wandering around looking for lodgings at police stations or elsewhere, and had been unsuccessful. He said he had been in the United States Navy during the rebellion, and had afterward been employed as a fireman on the steamships Paris and New York, but had contracted inflammatory rheumatism, and could no longer work. He said he had been refused lodging in two police stations on last Saturday night, and had stopped at a lodging house. He said he passed Monday night in a stormhouse at the Pennsylvania Railroad Depot, and had on Tuesday made ineffectual attempts to secure admission to two hospitals. He said he told the officials there that he had a pension of $12 a month, and offered to pay $3 a week until he recovered, but his offer was refused. He then made up his mind that they would have to take him in at some place, and broke the window. He was committed to the House of Correction by Magistrate O'Brien.

Second: On the 23d of the same month a respectable-looking man, of about 40 years, whose attire was somewhat the worse for wear, stood for over two hours at Broadway and Pine streets in this city, with this placard pinned to his coat:

"WANTED — Employment of any kind by an honest American."

Thousands walked by the man with never more than a look of pity or curiosity. The "honest American" hopped around, first on one foot and then on the other, to keep himself warm.

Third: Throughout New England, the employés in the textile industries are facing a savage reduction in wages from their already paltry remuneration; facing increased want while the manufacturers, the idlers' bosses class, are thereby seeking to live in increased affluence.

Allusion to the pick-pocket's dodge of crying "stop thief!" when he fears capture himself, and seeks, by joining the pursuers, to draw attention away from himself, seems stale. And yet, stale though it may be, it acquires freshness from the "No juggling with honor" banquet held with a background of which the above three items are typical.

The word "honor" in the mouth of the capitalist class and its political agents, the McKinleys, is like the word "thief" in the mouth of the running pick-pocket.

With veteran defenders of the Union thrown on the streets with paltry pensions, while the "substitute"-buying class rolls in luxury; with honest Americans trotting over the sidewalks looking for work, while the idler class banquets; with the weavers walking virtually undressed during the winter, while the idlers know not what to do with the stuff on their hands;—with dishonor banqueting and honesty in the gutters, how wondrous does not the word "honor" sound from the lips of the former!

No juggling with honor, indeed! That's the slogan to-day in the camp of those who toil in requited toil, who spin and go naked, who build houses and have no roof over their heads, who produce food and go hungry.

No juggling with honor! The false cry, uttered by a dishonored class, has long enough humbugged the people. There shall be no more juggling with honor. The working class, rapidly becoming class-conscious, will see to it that the dishonor, now fastened on the nation by the felon class that usurps power, shall be wiped out, and no longer shall wealth be, as it is now, the reward of idleness, to the undoing of the people.

In the wrangle going on in Congress on the Teller Silver Joint Resolution, the silver and the gold wing of the capitalist class have been exchanging some unpalatable truths, and photographing each to perfection. How excellent is not the following picture of the Gold-Silver plunderers of labor, drawn by the Silverite Senator Turpie:

"When the High Priests of Gold speak, they lie; when they are silent, they steal."

Drop "Gold" and put in "Silver" and the picture fits again "like de paperr on de vall."

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

THE PEOPLE.

Published at 184 William Street, New York,
—EVERY SUNDAY.—

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Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post office, on April 6th, 1891.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)	2,068
In 1890	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential)	21,157
In 1894	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential)	36,564
In 1897	**54,159**

Our doubts are traitors,
And make us lose the good we oft might win,
By fearing to attempt.
Shakespeare.

"HOLDING UP" THE CITY.

Columns upon columns of the metropolitan press have been taken up of late with "what Mr. Gould says to the Rapid Transit Commission"; what the Rapid Transit Commission answers Mr. Gould; what "Mr. Gould replies to the Rapid Transit Commission"; etc., etc. The whole correspondence can be summed up in a few words: "The city is 'held up' by Mr. Gould." This is the point of importance, the one which to understand and appreciate is worth all others.

Here is a city, the second largest in the world, needing a better system of transit, with intellectual and manual labor ample to build the best transit system possible, yet at the knees of one man, or of a set of men, "holding up" in approved Western brigand style! By what art or witchcraft does it come about that all the physical and intellectual power of this great city can be and is set at naught by a cabal? There is no witchcraft about it, unless capitalism be witchcraft.

Railroads, together with all the other things that civilized society needs, are built by labor, manual and intellectual; money builds nothing. And yet, such are the workings of the capitalist system, that money is an indispensable thing to production, and he who owns that can dictate, "hold up" the whole labor of a community.

If a highwayman appropriates a well, he has at his mercy all others. Water is needed by man; without that he dies. The well appropriator can palsy all those whose access to the well depends upon his sweet will. In such a case, what would be the opinion entertained of a community that would tolerate such infamous and death and slavery-producing ownership? It would be justly esteemed to be a collection of poltroons: Ten to one, such a community would no sooner realize its predicament than it would make short work of that "system of ownership," if not of the brigand owner himself, and itself free itself from the galling yoke.

The holder of money stands on still weaker ground. Water is a necessity; natural and indispensable; money is not. The holder of money may be left in quiet possession; he can be outflanked and reduced to terms without touching his hoard—however felonious the methods may be by which he acquired it. The labor of a community, if properly organized, if conducted upon the Socialist or co-operative plan, can rear what structures it will, build what and how it wants, satisfy its desires to its heart's content. The socialistically organized powers of a community are self-sufficient—money is there valueless, useless.

The disgraceful scene presented by our city at the feet of a Gould is an epitome of the disgraceful scene presented by our whole country at the feet of the Gould class; it is a commentary upon capitalism, its power to hold civilization back and the people down.

How long will this disgrace be tolerated?

PURE AND SIMPLEDOM ON EXHIBITION IN ENGLAND.

The phenomena that have accompanied the late engineers' strike in England can not fail to deal a heavy blow to that bizarrest of superstitions afloat which consists in the theory that, because England is the country that first developed conspicuously on capitalist lines, therefore the steps taken there by the workingmen in their struggle with the capitalist class must of necessity be correct and worthy of imitation everywhere else.

Two among the several phenomena accompanying the strike will amply illustrate the point.

In the first place, the United Pattern Makers' Association, a union kindred in trade to and affiliated with the engineers, not only hastened to profit by the lock-out of its fellow proletarians, the engineers; not only, through its General Secretary, Mr. Mosses, congratulated themselves upon the improvement in their trade made at the expense of the engineers; but actually, in pursuit of their own private trade interests, helped defeat the engineers by filling up shops in which the engineers were on strike. Here is what this Mr. Mosses himself says in the report in which he congratulates his union on the reduction in the number of its unemployed members:

"The improvement in trade which is indicated by this change in the condition of our vacant books is chiefly noticeable in the Leeds, Clyde and Mersey districts, and is probably due TO THE GRADUALLY FILLING UP OF THE SHOPS WHICH HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN THE LOCK-OUT."

And he says this unblushingly.

In the second place, comes the spectacle presented at the recent York by-election. The Liberal party put up as its candidate Sir Christopher Furness, a member of the Federation of Engineering Employers, who, together with his associates, Col. Dyer and Siemens, locked out the engineers, was upholding the lock-out, and was conspicuous in the bosses' efforts to down the men. In that campaign, conducted, not years and years after the engineers' fight, when it might have passed out of memory, but in the very midst of the fight, who were the most conspicuous and active stump speakers for Sir Christopher, the out-locking employer? Hold your breaths, ye who are uninformed, and, if you have wonderment, prepare to wonder now! The most conspicuous and active advocates of Sir Christopher's candidature were THE TRADES UNION OFFICIALS, THOMAS BURT AND RICHARD McGHEE, BOTH "REPRESENTATIVES OF UNIONISM" IN PARLIAMENT!

Pure and Simple Trade Unionism had its birth in England. Not all birth is sound and healthy. The condition of the parents may beget and conceive a creature that, when given birth to, turns out to be a monstrosity. Such is the case with the British style of unionism. Begot and conceived under unhealthy conditions, often referred to in these columns, it has grown to be the monstrosity we see to-day. In its fruit the tree is recognized. "Pure and Simpledom" is not a child of the class struggle. It is a cross between Labor and Capital, bearing the hideous features of the mixture of Pan and Venus. The struggle in which it frequently finds itself involved with Capital is no ground to consider it representative of the working class: capitalists are often in one another's hair; that does not take either side out of the capitalist rank; the struggles of "Pure & Simple Unionism" with Capital are struggles that emanate from capitalist conceptions, are conducted upon capitalist lines, and have capitalist aims in view;—witness Mr. Mosses' report, the conduct of the men in his union, the attitude of Messrs. Burt and McGhee.

As the conditions that originally surrounded the Australian savage led him, thousands of years ago, into the rut of the peculiar family relations he then fell into, so the conditions that surrounded the British wage slave a few generations ago led him into the rut of "Pure & Simpledom; and, as that peculiar form of family relations, into which the Australian savage fell, throttled his development, and left him pretty near the bottom rung of development, almost as low as the most savage race now extant, so, likewise, did that peculiar form of organization, into which the British wage slave fell, throttle his development, leaving the movement of his class away in the rear of the movement of the proletariat elsewhere.

"Pure & Simpledom" is and must be treated as an appendage of Capitalism. The path to overthrow the latter lies over the prostrate body of the former, laid low by class-conscious, revolutionary New Trades Unionism.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The Davenport, Ia., "Truth" has earned its spurs for a firm and intelligent champion of the working class. One of the evidences to this effect is its clearsightedness, which does not allow itself to be deceived by bourgeois "radical" talk, and consequently sees through the fraud of Senator Tillman's loud professions. It sizes up the situation excellently in the following passage:

"Out of 140,000 negroes in South Carolina, only 12,000 are allowed to vote. Pitchfork Tillman was the chief instigator of the franchise in that State, and the northern capitalists are wishing they had a Tillman to disfranchise the white workingmen of the north from voting. Look out!"

United States Senator Hawley is active in his Hartford, Conn., "Courant" trying to avoid the charge brought by Socialism against his idle class of capitalists to the effect that its wealth consists of stolen goods. One of his or its, or both his and its, the latest dodge is this:

"There is some excuse for the idea that all wealth is produced by labor. Yet in reality labor, that is living labor, is one of the least important agents of industry. The chief factor is the labor of the dead embodied in tools or stored up in the experience that produces new things. How many bricks could a man make in a day with his hands and such rude tools as he could shape himself? Perhaps two hundred. If he accociates himself with ten or twenty other men and uses brick-making machinery of the most approved pattern they can make perhaps 2,000 a day apiece. He receives 1,000 or the equivalent of 1,000 though in reality he is entitled to no more than he could make with his bare hands. But he is sure to insist that he is entitled to 2,000 or all he made, on the theory that the machine which is the product of past labor, it may be of dead labor, is entitled to nothing."

If this means anything, it means that living labor is not entitled to the benefit of dead labor; suppose this reasoning be right; by what process of reasoning would it follow therefrom that, because Living Labor should not be heir to Dead Labor, therefore Living Idleness should? Even if the question were to be taken from the side that Senator Hawley's "Courant" now approaches it, the logical conclusion should be this:

"Living Labor has no right of inheritance from Dead Labor; consequently, no one has any such right;—Dead Labor departs leaving behind no heirs whatever, its property should be destroyed."

The absurdity of such a proposition leaps to the eye with the mere statement of it, and suggests the only right conclusion, to wit:

"The legitimate issue of Dead Labor is Living Labor; the legitimate issue of Dead Idleness is Living Idleness. Living Idleness can not be legitimate issue of Dead Labor. Consequently, the wealth produced by Dead Labor is the inheritance and property of its legitimate issue Living Labor; consequently when such inheritance is found in the hands of the spurious heir Living Idleness, or the Capitalist Class, this class must have come to it by crooked ways, i. e., stolen it;"—which is the case with Senator Hawley's class.

It matters not what fine spun theory the robber class spins, it can not justify its ownership of what it has not produced.

Another instance furnished by the Pocahontas, Va., "Weekly Register" that the light of Socialism, which has just penetrated that locality in the person of our national agitator and organizer, Comrade Keinard, has a purifying effect, is the following squib:

"Some Good in Socialism.

"Last Monday the telephone and light poles were stripped of all notices, signs and advertising matter by the authorities. On September 16, 1896, the following ordinance was adopted, but has been continuously violated until bills were posted on them Monday announcing that a Socialist would speak that night at the Opera House. This proves that there is at least some good in Socialism, as the ordinance might have went for years without being enforced had it not been violated by a representative of that 'faith,' for some of the signs had been up more than a year, and had become too rusty to be of any value as an advertisement:

"THE ORDINANCE.

"Be it ordained that no person, firm or corporation shall be allowed to post metal, wood or such like signs, or other contrivances whatsoever, on the electric light or telephone poles in the corporation, or on the bridges within the same. Any person who shall violate this ordinance shall be fined not less than one nor more than ten dollars for each offense.'"

The bare appearance of Socialism is a disturber of the peaceful enjoyment of life by capitalist crime.

The "Fortnightly Review" has a bourgeois hypochondriac article upon the situation in the world. Things are everywhere going to the dogs, it claims. In proof of that, it quotes some of the recent events in Europe, where the Socialists are shaking up the existing order, and it winds up with this allusion from contemporaneous history in America:

"Since Napoleon left Elba to resume the sovereignty of France, what parallel is there in history to the case of Mr. Croker, who, after sojourning in England for three years, returns and resumes in a moment the mastery of New York?"

The article winds up with a sigh that serves as fresh proof of the soundness of the Marxian words:

"The bourgeoisie has every reason to fear the stupidity of the masses so long as these remain conservative; and their intelligence so soon as they become revolutionary."

Taking into further consideration the allusions shiveringly made by the "Fortnightly," to the work of our revolutionary Socialist Comrades in Europe, we may repeat what we said in our issue of Nov. 14, '97, immediately after the election:

"The position of the bourgeois is critical. Cultivate ignorance, and above the horizon loom the Dick Crokers; promote enlightenment, and the falchion of the Socialist proletariat wheezes through the air."

An "Arena" economist named Ridpath gets off this bit of genuine space-filler:

"Real prosperity will come again when the equilibrium shall be restored in the economic body of this nation. That will be when the prices of products and the wages of labor shall rise to the level of adequate renumeration."

What is the difference between that and this:

"Real happiness will come again to this man, now suffering with festering sores, when the equilibrium shall be restored in his anatomy. That will be when the quality of his blood and the share thereof which the worms, now rioting in it, shall rise to the level of adequate remuneration."

And is it not of a piece with this bit of clap rhetoric that Artemus Ward photographs the ranting stump-speaker with, who was unable to define his position on a certain campaign issue?

"Whichever way I says I don't say so myself unless I say so also."

For their lives, these flitters over the surface of the Social Question, who love to rush before the public and to see themselves in print, have not earnestness enough to subject themselves to a systematic study of the question, capacity to grasp it, or boldness to state it and declare it:

"Real prosperity will come again only when the system of ownership of the tool of production shall be adapted to the modern and requisite system of collective labor; when the tool of production—once individually operated and owned, but now operated collectively—shall be collective property. Prosperity will be when the collective labor of the land shall collectively be master of its tools, and consequently shall be able, thanks to and as the inevitable result of such ownership, to be master of the fruit of its labor. Real prosperity can come only through the gates of the Social Revolution that will, by nationalizing the land on and the tool with which to labor, overthrow the capitalist class, with it, its capitalist system, and rear the Socialist Republic."

Commenting upon the attitude of the "pure-and-simple"-ridden working class of England at large during the late engineers' strike, and on its simultaneous attitude at the polls, especially at the York election, where one of the bosses who locked out his men, Sir Christopher Furness, ran for Parliament, the London "Justice" says:

"There have been a number of elections since this lock-out has been going on which have afforded working people the opportunity for political demonstration of class solidarity—the Parliamentary election at Barnsley, the municipal elections, and the London School Board election. In none of these contests was there, outside Socialist ranks, the slightest evidence on the part of the workers of any class-consciousness. But this York election was unique. Never was the class issue put so clear from the political side. Here on one side was the federation of engineering employers, banded together in a strenuous, determined and long sustained effort to crush the organization of the men and to force them into abject submission. On the other side some eighty thousand workmen patiently enduring privation and suffering rather than submit to this tyranny. And then the Liberal party, as if to place the whole matter in the most striking light possible and force the men into a political fight, put forward as their candidate a member of the employers' federation. A more insolent challenge to organized labor was never thrown down by any political party. But how do the men concerned regard this challenge? The Social-Democratic Federation passes a resolution and issues a manifesto in condemnation of this impudent insult to the workers of York; the Independent Labor party advises its members in the constituency to abstain from voting; several workmen's clubs and branches of trade unions pass resolutions condemning the bringing forward of the federation candidate, and even John Burns was constrained to utter a protest; but those immediately concerned, the majority of the working class voters of York, and, above all, the engineers themselves, took the opposite site and backed the champion of sweaters!

"This is certainly not war; neither is it magnificent. It is ridiculous. It seems, indeed, that the more the workers are flouted and contemned, the more they are kicked and trodden upon, the better they like it. Probably if some more brilliant member of the federation had been put forward, he would have done even better than Furness. Working people appear to have sunk so low that they do not understand when they are insulted by the plunderers who live upon them, but delightedly turn the other cheek to the smiter and greedily ask for more."

It is devoutly to be hoped that this lesson will not escape our class-conscious Comrades now struggling on British soil; that THEY will learn the lesson, which their Comrades in America have learned, as to the essentially capitalistic spirit of the "pure and simple" union and its precious leaders, the necessity of overthrowing both as out-posts of the capitalist class, and the tactical wisdom of organizing without delay sound, class-conscious unions—the same as was done here two years ago by the organization of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

The New York "Journal" announced last week that there was to be somewhere a masked ball at which

"Leading trade-unionists such as Meyer Schoenfeld and Joseph Barondess would appear disguised as sweaters."

The question naturally suggests itself:

"Would these gentlemen need any disguise?"

The Boston and Chicago "Universalist Leader" is publishing a series of articles on Socialism by one Rev. L. O. Williams. We shall have frequent occasion to refer to this wonderful production. It is about the best arsenal so far furnished from which to draw weapons with which to club to a pulp the capitalist class together with its rev. l. o. williams pulpiteers. This is one. Says the rev. l. o. williams:

"In the mind of the manual laborer, indeed in the minds of many of the Socialistic writers, even in the mind of Karl Marx, there is no idea more common than the fallacious one that a man to work must use a spade or an axe and wear dirty clothes. The man who shovels coal into the furnace works, but it does not occur to him that the man whose active brain has organized the industry and whose far-seeing mind, whose courage and skill plan and make production possible also works."

To ask the rev. l. o. williams to mention a single passage in Karl Marx that bears out his charge would be taking an undue advantage of the gentleman. He evidently never had the book in his hands, and would, if he got it, in all likelihood hold it upside down, like any other savage.

But we will ask him this fair question: What work busies the "far-seeing mind" of Duchess Consuelo Vanderbilt, what work occupies the "active brain" of the Marchioness Anna Gould, what activity do my ladies Singer indulge in, or Russel Sage, or Rockefeller, or Depew, or any capitalist? They all live riotously. Where do they get it from?

The Socialists, from Marx down, say that the wealth on which the capitalist class lives, and out of which it throws crumbs to its "Rev." spaniels, is wealth produced by the manual and brain wage slaves, but stolen from them by the capitalist class, that, thanks to its system of legalized robbery, keeps the manual and brain workers in dirty clothes, poverty and want.

Will the rev. l. o. williams answer? We won't press the question too closely; we are willing to give him time to swallow the Judas morsel of food he may now have in his mouth.

With Pacific Slope unconventionality the San Francisco, Cal., "New Charter" strikes thusly from the shoulder:

"The New York 'Journal,' the Eastern end of the San Francisco 'Examiner,' gave a banquet Christmas eve to 5,000 newsboys, and had Chauncey Depew, legal adviser of the Vanderbilts and President of the New York Central Railway, talk to them. Dr. Depew, after telling the boys of several poor boys who became famous men, said:

"'This shows that it is not the rich boy who grows to be the most popular and respected or the most intellectual man of his age. This is a country for the development of men who rely upon their own resources where the poor boy and the rich are in the race of life on even terms, with the advantage probably in favor of the former.'

"We cannot call Dr. Depew an ass; he's too smart for that. He is simply a mountebank, who holds the public eye while his employers get away with the swag. Like all of his ilk, he takes the exception to prove the rule suited to his class interests. Perhaps the time might never come in which a poor boy here and there might not work up to fame and riches. But we care nothing about the exceptions. How about the great class of poor boys? Their conditions are bad; very bad, and rapidly getting worse. It is false to say that every poor boy has a chance for fame and wealth. It is the rare exception that will achieve either; and then only those who have special abilities, and then only in proportion as they are willing to prostitute their abilities to the service of the privileged classes."

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers.

"Roman Catholic Friend," New York.—It is not fair to take strictly, and as Socialist teaching, a casual remark made at a public festival by one not uttering himself as a Socialist, although the festival may have been a Socialist one, and the words you mention used by a Socialist. How would you like our holding the creed to which you adhere responsible for the utterances, for instance of the Roman Catholic Rev. Morgan M. Shedy, who, recently, at a meeting of Roman Catholic educators in this city, calumniated Socialism; or the utterances of so many other members of Roman Catholic priesthood in this country, who are using towards Socialism the identical language that the Pharisees used towards Christ? How would you like if we were to impute to your creed the sentiments and conduct of Roman Catholic dignitaries who are the supporters of the capitalist class that exploits the working class? We have more than one letter in this office from Comrades of the Roman Catholic persuasion who denounce the priests who dare meddle in politics. We would counsel you to remember that Socialism has no concern with a man's religion; that it wars, however, against any man, whatever garb he is in, priest or layman, who stands up as an upholder of the present capitalist system of robbery by calumniating Socialism; and that it would be well if you spent some energy in calling to order the numerous dignitaries of your church, who by their language, drag your creed into the mire of capitalist robbery.

T. S., Westerly, R. I.—Your matter was not returned because not rejected; and it has not yet appeared because of its length.

T. W. L., Philadelphia.—Next week.

F. C., Philadelphia.—Such stuff is its own best refutation.

DOWN WITH SLAVERY!

[This poem, written by Percy Shelley, was put to music and dedicated to Section Yonkers, N. Y., of the Socialist Labor Party, by PLATON BROUNOFF.]

'Tis to work and have such pay
As just keeps life, from day to day,
'Tis to see your children weak,
With their mothers pine and peak,
'Tis to be a slave in soul,
And to hold no strong control
In your limbs, as in a cell,
For the tyrant's use to dwell;
When the winter's winds are bleak—
They are dying whilst I sing;
Over your own will but be
All that others make of ye.
So that ye for them are made,
Loom and plough and sword and spade;
'Tis to hunger for such diet
As the rich man in his riot,
And at length, when you complain,
With a murmur weak and vain,
With or without your own will, bent
To their defence and nourishment;
Casts to the fat dogs that lie,
Surfeiting, beneath his eye;
'Tis to see the tyrant crew
Ride over your wives and you.

Men of Labor, heirs of glory,
Heroes of unwritten story,
Nurslings of one mighty mother;
Hopes of her and one another,
Rise like lions after slumber,
In unvanquishable number;
Shake your chains to earth like dew,
Which, in sleep, had fallen on you.
Shake your chains like dew,
Ye are many, they are few.

[The words and music of the above can be had on application to Section Yonkers, N. Y.; price 10 cents.]

Brother Jonathan looks bright and happy, and rubs his hands.

Uncle Sam—What bit of good luck has fallen to you.

B. J.—I am going to Hawaii.

U. S.—Is't that that makes you so happy?

B. J.—Yes; I can't help feeling happy. Here I've been these last seven months without work. That in itself is bad enough. But it wouldn't be so bad if before that I had had good wages, and had been able to lay by something. It happens, though, that before that my wages were so low that I couldn't get along with them, and ran in debt. On top of that I was laid off. Pretty tough, I tell ye. I never went through such hard days.

U. S.—But what is it that makes you happy?

B. J.—Now after all this suffering I am going to have good times.

U. S.—Where? how? when?

B. J.—Where? in Hawaii; when? when I get there; how? because I can't miss good wages.

U. S.—Me seems you go too fast. Where have you got that certainty from?

B. J.—Don't you know that President Dole, of Hawaii, is in the country now?

U. S.—I do.

B. J.—And haven't you read what he said to a labor reporter in Washington?

U. S.—No; I haven't. Life is short; to spend that shortness in reading tomfoolery were too long.

B. J. (throws his arms up, tips his hat back, and looks wild generally)—Now, there you have it again. Here comes a good man, with good news to the workingmen, and you call that tomfoolery. Just like all you Socialists! Oh——

U. S.—Give us a rest with your whimperings, and let's see what that "good news to the workingmen" is.

B. J.—I have learned the passage by heart; so well did I like it; I can give it to you literally.

U. S.—Do, by all means.

B. J.—He said: "The climate is sub-tropical; that makes the conditions of life easy; then also the planters are rich and growing richer. Taking these two things into consideration there is nothing to prevent white labor from finding at all times profitable employment, work and high wages." There, now!

U. S. raps with his knuckles on B. J.'s forehead.

B. J.—What are you doing?

U. S. (raps again)—Hollow! hollow!

B. J.—What are you at?

U. S.—Poor Jonathan! Because Hawaii has a "sub-tropical climate," and because the planters are rich, therefore you believe you are there sure of work and of high wages?!

B. J.—Why not?

U. S.—Man alive, you don't need to go to Hawaii for a sub-tropical climate or for rich employers; we have both right here. Isn't Louisiana's climate sub-tropical enough for you?

B. J.—Well, it is sub-tropical.

U. S.—And has labor there steady and good employment?

B. J.—Darn it, no; it is just the low wages paid down there that our bosses are now giving as a ground for lowering ours up here.

U. S.—Well said. And are the bosses here and in the sub-tropical South not every bit as rich as the bosses of Hawaii?

B. J.—Guess they are richer.

U. S.—And yet that does not insure permanent work or good wages, does it?

B. J. falls into a brown study.

U. S.—Now, Jonathan, you have been working almost a life-time, and still you have not yet got hold of the lesson that your daily experience teaches on wages. You have not yet learned that the wages of the workingmen do not depend upon the wealth of their employer, in so far that their wages do not rise with his wealth, but that, on the contrary, the only relation that exists between them is that the richer the employer the poorer the workingman——

B. J.—What?!

U. S.—Are you now better off than 20 years ago?

B. J.—I'm worse off; but——

U. S.—Is your boss richer or poorer?

B. J.—Immensely richer.

U. S.—There you have it. Now the matter is this wise in a nutshell. The wages of the workingman don't depend upon the wealth of the boss or on the climate. The wages of the workingmen are the price of his labor; the price of all merchandise depends upon the supply and the demand; the more workers there are in a place the larger is the supply, and the lower are the wages. When President Dole tries to get you and other gudgeons to go to Hawaii, he does so to raise the supply of labor there and thus lower the wages. If he can get enough such gulls as you to go there you will have the chance to run about without work, and the enjoyment of Hawaii's sub-tropical climate as the only thing to live on.

B. J.—But——

U. S.—No "buts." You have been nursed on Gomperism and other stupidities; you have been stuffed for years with Republican and Democratic claptrap. Your own experience has gone for nothing. And now that you have loyally allowed yourself to be humbugged here, you are ready to go to Hawaii and be humbugged there. I wish to heaven you did go, and relieved the movement here of the burden of your stupidity.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Comrade Max Keller, 1016 Hope street, has been duly appointed agent for THE PEOPLE.

All subscribers are urgently requested to settle for their subscription by him if in arrears. Give him a hand in agitating and gathering new subscribers.

BELGIUM.

(Continued.)

But the time had not yet come for a simultaneous movement of the various national proletariats on the familiar lines once more delineated in this manifesto. In each country a reorganization of forces was slowly going on, which was an essential preliminary of effective political action. The German Social Democracy itself, to which the Socialists of other countries were anxiously looking for inspiration or encouragement, was about to enter the most trying period of its history; a period of relentless persecution under the Bismarckian anti-Socialist law, the enactment of which in its rigorous form was greatly facilitated by the anarchists' attempts of 1878 to practically illustrate their "propaganda of the deed." Nevertheless, it was during this period that the chasm became so wide between the anarchists and the Socialists, and their separation so complete, that the latter could at last steadily prosecute their work, undisturbed by internal dissensions. In the Wallon districts of Belgium the anarchists had gained the upper hand; from Verviers as a center of operations, although frequently divided among themselves, they succeeded for several years in carrying on a fruitless agitation. But in the other provinces the Socialists had a clear field. They demanded universal suffrage and called upon the people to organize for the purpose of obtaining it.

At last the great movement of emancipation reached its turning point. The stupendous victory won at the polls in 1884 by the Social Democracy of Germany changed the face of affairs. On the 5th of April, 1885, the delegates of fifty-nine labor unions, co-operative associations and mutual benefit societies met at Brussels and founded the "Belgian Labor party." Among the bodies represented on this memorable occasion were the now famous co-operative "Vooruit" of Ghent, founded by Socialists in 1880, the "Werker" of Antwerp, the "Federation of Trades," which had but lately been formed in Brussels, the "Glass-Workers' Union" of Charleroi, etc. The naming of the party gave rise to an interesting discussion. The men of Ghent proposed to style it "Socialist party." Other delegates, chiefly of trade unions, "afraid to frighten," proposed "Labor party." In the interest of "conciliation" the fighter Volders, the fearless tribune who subsequently lost his reason and his life in the hour of triumph, advised the adoption of the latter name. On this subject De Paepe wrote: "In fact no other name could have been more precise, comprehensive and significant. Whoever says, 'Labor party,' says 'class party.' And as soon as the laboring class constitutes itself into a party, what else can it be but Socialist?" And in commenting upon these remarks the Socialist deputy Vandervelde lately observed: "There are now some who complain of our party name, on the ground that its class meaning keeps away certain middle class men, who no longer tremble at the word Socialism. Shall the name which originally frightened the oppositionists be now adopted in order to please them?" To this pertinent question we might reply: "By no means; should any change be advisable, rather make it Socialist Labor party."

The agitation for universal suffrage now became more systematic, vigorous and widespread. In every form of organization, whether the special purpose in view was resistance, co-operation, mutual help, political education, physical training, or even recreation, all considerations were subordinated to the great end of obtaining the franchise. So rapidly did the movement grow that in 1887, at the national congress of Mons, the more impatient wing of the party, under the lead of Defuisseaux, proposed to force the issue by resorting to a general strike. The majority, however, in full accord with such experienced teachers and organizers as De Paepe, Volders, Anseele, Bertrand, Van Beveren, realized that the proposed step was premature, certain to fail, and likely to prove destructive of the very foundations, well built but as yet by no means unshakeable, upon which the party structure had hardly begun to rise above ground. The discussion was long and passionate. It resulted in the withdrawal of Defuisseaux and his followers, who apparently did not perceive that by seceding from the main body they not only weakened it but increased their own impotency. Undismayed by this defection, the majority went on, carrying out its plan of organization more methodically than ever, and achieving practical results far beyond its own expectations, until the Defuisseaux faction, full of sincere admiration and honest repentance, publicly acknowledged its error and applied for readmission. Since that time (1889) the Belgian Labor party has remained a unit, impervious to dissension.

It was also in 1885 that the reorganization of the Socialist movement upon its present lines of battle began in France; and as an international exhibition was to take place in Paris in 1889, the occasion was deemed a good one to hold there an international Socialist Congress. Instead of one, however, two were held at the same time, owing to the differences of long standing and chiefly personal which still kept apart the leaders of the French movement. Several countries were represented in both, but Germany was represented in one, which for this reason was called the "Marxist," while the other, on account of the former tactics of the more prominent among the French delegates who attended it, became known as the "Possibilist" congress. The transactions of both were substantially identical, and the suggestions of future union made by the foreigners were upon the whole favorably received by the French. The Belgian Labor party enjoyed universal confidence. It was therefore intrusted with the somewhat delicate mission of arranging for a Congress at Brussels in 1891, as representative as possible of the united forces of International Socialism and organized labor. A step calculated to further promote harmony, and to greatly quicken the movement in all countries, was also taken at Paris:—May Day was instituted.

The following two years were eventful in Belgium. On the 5th of April, 1890, the party held its national congress at Louvain. Its progress had been constant, its discipline was perfect. It was ready to act—not rashly, but strongly. A resolution was passed, calling for a popular demonstration at Brussels, on the 10th of August, in favor of universal suffrage.

On the day appointed the manifestation took place. It was the greatest Brussels had ever seen; 80,000 men participated in it. Delegates had come from all parts of the country. At the meeting they held in the evening they called a congress for the 14th of September, to devise ways and means of ceaseless agitation. This congress decided that the time had come when a general strike might be declared as a last pacific resort should the Chambers and the government prove intractable. It also issued a call for a general popular demonstration, to be held in every city on the Sunday preceding the opening of Parliament.

Shortly after, the so-called "Progressist party," chiefly composed of middle class men and numbering among its leaders some opportunist politicians, held its annual convention. In accordance with the traditional policy of its class in all countries, this party recognized the strength of the popular movement and undertook to place itself at the head of it—for the obvious purpose of ultimately confiscating it—by passing a resolution in favor of unlimited universal suffrage and proffering its aid to the Socialists, both on the rostrum and in Parliament. Not less experienced in tactics than these belated sympathizers and inveterate tricksters had on many occasions shown themselves to be, bearing in mind, also, the precious lessons of history, the Socialist leaders smiled complacently and accepted the interested offer for what it was worth, determined to use the middle class this time, but under no circumstances to be used by it. Thus reinforced they carried on an agitation of unprecedented magnitude throughout the country, and wound up the campaign on the eve of the re-assembling of Parliament with imposing demonstrations, according to the programme laid out in September.

Almost immediately (Nov. 25) the Chamber unanimously voted to take into consideration the question of revising the Constitution. A few days later, it appointed a "Central Section" (or special committee) to study the subject. A majority of its members, however, consisted of men notoriously opposed to the extension of the suffrage, and it became every day more apparent, from its waste of time in senseless proceedings, that, trusting in false promises to allay the excitement, and in procrastination to maintain the status quo, the Chamber intended to do nothing. But the Socialists were wide awake. They renewed the agitation with increased vigor, held hundreds of meetings and summoned the various dignitaries, individually, to deny the public rumor that they were opposed to the political enfranchisement of the proletariat. Lastly, they called an extraordinary congress, which was held at Brussels on the 5th of April, 1891, and by which it was decided that without further notice a general strike should take place on the day when the Central Section or the Chamber would vote against the revision of the constitution.

Then came the May Day demonstrations and a spontaneous outburst of international solidarity. At that time the miners of Westphalia were on strike. Without waiting for any other signal the Belgian miners threw down their tools in sympathy with their German brethren, protested indignantly against the dilatory proceedings of the Central Section, and demanded an immediate improvement of their own economic conditions.

The general council of the party was taken by surprise and feared for a few days that this unexpected action of the miners might prove inopportune. But, reassured by the advices which it received from the provinces, it promptly endorsed the strike and pledged to the miners the support of the party. Other trades made ready to go out at a moment's notice.

Bewildered by such unusual evidences of popular tenacity, the Central Section at last—on the 20th of May—unanimously concluded in favor of revising the constitution "without unnecessary delay;" whereupon the general council ordered the resumption of work, except, however, in the Charleroi district, where the strike was continued for economic reasons. Of course, the great question at issue was by no means settled. But the Socialists had succeeded in extorting from one of the most reactionary Parliaments of Europe a promise which could not be broken or the fulfillment of which could not be indefinitely postponed without danger to the Crown itself and to the economic institutions which that Parliament was above all things anxious to preserve.

Three months later—from the 16th to the 22d of August—was held at Brussels the International Congress that the Belgian party, in 1889, had received the mission to organize. It was the greatest that had yet been held, and, considering the fundamental character of the questions upon which it had to establish the position of International Socialism, it was of even greater importance than the subsequent ones of Zurich and London. The success of the Belgians in the accomplishment of their difficult task was in nothing more apparent than in the fact that the various fractions of the Socialist movement in France, which previously did not work together, were represented by 69 delegates, who held mandates from 715 organizations, and who, from the first day of the congress to the last, acted as a unit.

The most far-reaching act of this body was unquestionably the exclusion of all anarchists, even when some of them claimed—as in the case of the Spaniard, Fernandez Gramos, and his companions—that they represented trade unions. Disowned by the universal proletariat, unable to call an international congress for fear of exposing their numerical weakness, cast out of the great army of emancipation in the ranks of which they had so long spread confusion and disorganization, deprived of the means to prevent the growth of Socialism by fastening upon it the odium of their own secret conspiracies and dark deeds, they were actually struck with impotency. From that moment dates the wonderful progress of the labor movement on Socialist lines in all the countries or districts where the anarchists had previously succeeded, by mere activity and audacity, in assuming leadership for purposes of demoralization and chaos.

The effects of the Brussels Congress were therefore widespread and permanent. In Belgium they were immediate, the organization of labor in its economic and political forms receiving an additional impetus throughout the country at a most critical time, when any failure of the Socialists to maintain and strengthen their position by extending and consolidating the universal suffrage movement would have instantly resulted in a smothering of it by all the forces of the reaction.

The need of indefatigable perseverance and constant aggression was indeed quite obvious. The privileged classes were intent upon forcing a contest of endurance, granting nothing but under compulsion and withdrawing everything on the least evidence of proletarian weakness. It was not until the 10th of May, 1892, or very nearly a year after the Central Section of Parliament had decided in favor of constitutional revision, that the Chamber confirmed this decision, and a full year had just elapsed when, ten days later, the Senate passed a similar vote. Parliament was then dissolved and the 14th of June was appointed for the election of the Constituent Assembly. Of course the provisions of the old law applied to this election, and but few of the workingmen could participate in it, on account of the property and other qualifications attached to the right of suffrage; so that the Constituent Assembly was to be a body essentially representative of the privileged classes, therefore as little disposed to curtail the political privileges of those classes without external pressure as the Parliament had been. To be sure, the Progressist party—the party of "savoir lire et écrire," or, as we would say in our own vernacular, the party of the three R's—had so far broadened its platform as to make room in it for universal suffrage. Its candidates, collectively and individually, were pledged to the reform. But what would become of the pledge under circumstances impossible to foresee when it was taken, no sensible Socialist would have ventured to foretell. Pressure, more pressure, and still more pressure, until either the opposition to electoral reform or the economic system itself should burst, such was the essential condition of victory.

As might have been expected, the new Chamber, although composed in majority of men who had declared themselves in favor of extending the franchise to all male citizens, wasted many months in idle discussion. Scheme upon scheme, amendment upon amendment, all tending to modify more or less deeply the original proposition of giving equal rights of suffrage to all citizens above the age of 21, were introduced, referred, "studied" and laid aside for further consideration. In the meantime the Socialists displayed extraordinary activity. Numbers of trades were organized, first locally, then federated provincially and nationally. Co-operative associations on the "Vooruit" plan and affiliated with the party, continued to multiply. Demonstrations and festivals were held at which the "Socialist young guards" by their exhibitions of discipline, the choral and instrumental societies by their inspiring songs, fairly won the hearts of the people. They carried on also a vigorous propaganda in the army, and for that purpose issued two special papers, one in French and one in Flemish, which were widely distributed to soldiers in the streets and even in the barracks. In aid of this movement they formed a Socialist Section of ex-corporals and sergeants. Lastly, to the intense disgust of the government and all the conservatives, they organized a "Referendum"; that is, they called for a popular vote on the universal suffrage question, and opened polling places in many cities, at which the citizens desiring to express their opinion were regularly registered before casting their ballot for or against the proposition. The result was startling. At Ghent 21,462 votes, or more than one-half of the total male population above 21 years of age, were cast for universal suffrage. At Brussels, the center of governmental, royal, aristocratic, plutocratic and bureaucratic influence, of the 105,000 persons registered 56,344 voted likewise in the affirmative. At Alost, in the very district which the ultra-reactionist Woeste represented in the Constituent Assembly, three-fourths of the people took this opportunity of repudiating him. Wherever a vote was taken, despite the eagerness of the conservatives to record their opposition in order to morally sustain their representatives, universal suffrage won the day.

Compelled by these manifestations of public impatience to make at least a show of activity, the Assembly on the 28th of February, 1893, took up the proposed amendment to Article 47 of the Constitution, providing for equal universal suffrage from the age of 21. Yet, on the 2d of April, when the Socialists opened at Ghent their ninth regular annual congress, the discussion was still dragging along tediously, and had only, so far, served to show more plainly than ever the absolute incorrigibleness and perfidious cowardice of the ruling classes. It had become evident that unless an issue was forced the Assembly would adjourn its first session without acting, and the great question would remain in abeyance for another year. After an animated debate, in the course of which the various schemes contemplating a voting age of 25 instead of 21 years, plural suffrage, etc., were considered, the party congress passed a resolution, instructing the general council to declare the general strike (1) in case universal suffrage was rejected by the Chambers, and (2) in case universal suffrage, adopted in principle, was subjected to conditions that could not be accepted by the working class.

By that time, instead of realizing that every day's delay had been improved by the Socialists in making effective preparations for the battle which they knew to be inevitable, the Government and the Chambers had come to the conclusion that the constant threat of a general strike was only a "bluff." Sharing in that delusion, the stock exchange brokers and gamblers, the great merchants, all those, in short, whose business "holdings," speculations and schemes were affected by the prolonged agitation, were demanding that an end be put to it by summary process. Vainly—upon the announcement that a coalition had been formed by Woeste, Frere, Kerchove and others between parliamentary groups of different colors—did the general council of the party, on the 9th of April, issue a last warning and call upon all the labor organizations to stand ready for any emergency. The Chamber, on the 11th, by a vote of 115 to 26, strangled universal suffrage.

A few hours later, the following manifesto was posted up in the whole country:

"AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE!

"The Constituent Assembly has rejected universal suffrage.

"The people cannot accept that decision.

"The General Council of the Labor Party, confirming its previous resolutions, hereby proclaim the necessity of a strike, general and immediate."

Hundreds of mills, shops, yards, etc., until then bustling with human activity, were instantly deserted. On that day, in the Borinage alone, ten thousand miners had already left their pits. A day later, those of Mons and Charleroi followed suit, while in Brussels and Ghent scores of brawny men, marching in companies, entered the establishments that had not yet shut down and called the workers out. On the 14th of April the port of Antwerp was paralyzed by a strike of the dockers; every cotton, wool and flax mill in Ghent was closed; also, the State arsenal and the machine shops. Similar conditions prevailed in Verviers. The match factories of Grammont were emptied of their half-poisoned operatives. Louvain, Malines and other industrial centers contributed their increasing share of self-enforced idleness. On the 15th, the number of strikers was 250,000, representing, with their families, one-fifth of the total population of the country. And the wave was still mounting.

Then the Government attempted intimidation. The troops were held under arms, ready to march. The state of siege was proclaimed in Brussels. The co-operative "Maison du Peuple," (headquarters of the Labor party), was surrounded by the police and access thereto rigorously denied. Meetings were forbidden; street gatherings brutally dispersed, houses invaded and searches instituted. Volders, Vandervelde and Defnet were arrested but quickly released for fear of consequences. A hot-headed member of the "Socialist Young Guard," named Levesque, happening to meet in the street the reactionist Woeste, slapped him in the face and drove him to shelter behind the portly form of Burgomaster Buls. The police had kicked and cuffed and even severely wounded many workingmen; all of which had been taken as a matter of course; but the latter incident caused a widespread sensation.

Lamentably impotent, the parliamentary majority sat, each member anxiously looking askance at the other. Assured that the army would protect them, they picked up courage and wildly voted down all the propositions of constitutional revision that had been submitted since the opening of their Assembly.

Then came the news of bloody conflicts in the provinces between the strikers and the gendarmes. The people were decidedly angry. They refused to be sabred away or shot down peacefully. It was even rumored that in many places the strikers were preparing to march upon Brussels. The army itself could no longer be implicitly relied upon. At Antwerp, 500 soldiers were parading the streets with a red flag, singing the Marseillaise. At Brussels and Liège the militiamen called out in haste were shouting, "Vive la Sociale!" A terrible panic seized the deputies. One of them, Nyssens, hastily drew a project of revision, granting the suffrage to all citizens 25 years old or more, but giving from one to two additional votes to certain categories of "tax-payers," university graduates and officials. It took just two hours to write, read and adopt this somewhat complex amendment, the full nature and workings of which not one deputy—not even its author—could intelligently comprehend. This was on the 18th of April, 1893. The agitation for universal suffrage had lasted 8 years outside and inside Parliament. The Constituent Assembly had sat nine months "studying" propositions. The strike had lasted a week.

The Nyssens constitutional amendment was not, of course, satisfactory to the Socialists. Far from it. Yet, all things considered, it was a great victory for the proletariat, and on the evening of that eventful day, after mature deliberation, the General Council of the party, all its members being present, unanimously adopted and issued the following resolution:

"The labor party, taking formal notice of the fact that universal suffrage has been inscribed in the Constitution, records the further fact that it was so inscribed under the irresistible pressure of a general strike, and is, therefore, a first conquest of the working class; decides, that while it is now expedient to resume work, the battle must otherwise continue with unabated vigor, for the abolition of the plural vote and the institution of equality."

But, even as to the first point gained, the end had not yet come. A new electoral law had to be passed, providing ways of putting the Nyssens constitutional amendment into practical operation. There was again a fine opportunity for procrastination. The Chambers did not allow it to escape, but, moreover, improved it by imposing upon the voters conditions of residence which many workingmen could not fulfil, disfranchising not only the professional beggars but all the other victims of capitalism who, for some reason, had to permanently or temporarily receive assistance, and disqualifying a vast number of people who had undergone sentences for trifling delinquencies or even for political and press offenses. Another year had nearly passed at the end of March, 1894, when the party held its tenth annual congress at Quaregnon, and the final vote on the electoral law had not yet been reached. A number of Senators, belonging to the three parties represented in the Constituent Assembly, had even proposed a resolution, which, if adopted, would have had the effect of prolonging one year the existence of that body, in direct violation of the constitution. Against this intended "coup d'état" the Socialist Congress protested in threatening terms, and as it was now stronger and better organized than ever, the more cautious solons thought it wise to avoid a conflict; the electoral law was passed and the 14th of October was appointed for the first parliamentary election to be held under that law.

(To be Continued).

CORRESPONDENCE.

"Lashing White Women."

To THE PEOPLE:—Under this head the New York "Evening Journal" has denounced the system of imposing fines on employes in the textile industries of New England. It is now posing as the champion of labor by endeavoring to have the custom repressed by law. The "Journal" has also shown that, as far as the power mercilessly to drive working people to the uttermost of their endurance is concerned, there is no difference between chattel slavery and wage slavery.

From a humanitarian point of view chattel slavery is the more humane of the two in this respect at least: Slaves were never starved, nor had they any anxiety on account of their families. Since the slave had no possible interest in his work, the fruit of which was appropriated by his master, any one, no matter who, would have been compelled to enforce the performance of efficient work by such means as were both appropriate and effectual. The LASH was consequently a perfectly necessary and defensible part of such a system of industry. The Republican party in 1860 did not ask for a law forbidding the lash, but stood for the abolition of the industrial system that made it necessary.

A great conflict and vast sacrifices destroyed it. The overseer with his cowhide disappeared, but the overseer with his book of fines took his place. All men will admit that with our present industrial system, in which the laborer sells his labor power for wages, he has no more interest in his work or his employer than the chattel slave had. The mill owners cannot use the lash on "free" white women (would, if they could, no doubt), so must use the most available and effectual means within their power of enforcing the performance of all the work that can be squeezed out of their employes.

Working people are obliged to sell their labor power at the bosses terms, and in such a one-sided agreement the terms are these: "You shall receive so much; you shall work so many hours; you shall abide by all my rules; if you transgress any of my rules you shall be fined or discharged."

Under the system of wage-slavery the capitalist must and will control despotically labor in quantity, quality and price, and his means to accomplish this are a PERFECTLY PROPER, LOGICAL AND JUSTIFIABLE outcome of such a system as wage slavery.

Cleveland and free trade; Mark Hanna and prosperity; Republican capitalist bosses, Democratic capitalist bosses, Republican legislators and Democratic legislators are all a part of the low wage, labor-fining, despotical capitalist system.

My fellow-workingmen who maintain this system with their ballots should not complain when they suffer the results of their folly.

The "Journal" seeks to turn the attention of the working men from the real enemy, capitalism, by making a great bluster about one of its inevitable results. Workingmen should beware! Its sole purpose is to rope them into voting for Democratic bosses, who, the workingmen know very well, are just as bad as Republican bosses. My fellow-workingmen now sell their labor for as much and give as little as possible; it is their interest to do so. The capitalist pays as little for labor and gets as much of it as he can; it is his interest to do so, and this he is forced to do or his competitors in the South, India and China will run him out of the business and stop his mill. Can he do otherwise than "lash white women, if not by fines, then by discharge?"

The whipping post disappeared only with chattel slavery. The lash of fines and starvation can be made to disappear only through the overthrow of wage slavery.

CHAS. H. MATCHETT.
New York, Borough of Brooklyn.

A Pungent Estimate on Principles, Tactics, etc.

To THE PEOPLE:—Enclosed is copy of a letter I sent early this month to J. A. Wayland, of the "Appeal to Reason," on an invitation by him to push his paper here, claiming that it "aims" to teach Socialism. I send you this copy in view of certain things that are happening. I don't send it for publication; but you can publish it if you think fit.

ARTHUR KEEP.

[Enclosure.]

Washington, D. C., Jan. 28, '98.

J. A. Wayland, Girard, Kansas.

Dear Sir—I am in receipt of a letter, several circulars, and a bundle of papers from you.

You address me as "Dear Comrade," and altogether your letter leads me to suppose that you think me worthy of your confidence; perhaps I am, but you are mistaken if you think I have either the time or inclination to act as agent for your paper, which "aims" to teach Socialism.

It seems to me you struck it about right; you "aim;" so do others, but I never hear the report of your gun. If I have any time to give to the spread of newspapers, etc., I devote it to those papers that have passed the "aiming" stage and have reached the "teaching" one. In short, I want papers which TEACH Socialism. Your friend Mr. Boyd has on several occasions given me copies of your paper and asked me to subscribe for it, and get others to do so. I have invariably refused to do either, even after he showed me an issue that contained my name, and that seemed to break him all up; after you were generous enough to notice me, to then refuse, oh, but that was hard. And I have refused for the following reasons—1st, there are plenty of Socialist papers I can give my efforts to, such as THE PEOPLE, "New Charter," etc., etc.; 2d, the Section would not allow me to "hustle" for papers not the organ of the S. L. P. or any paper over whose management we have no control; 3d, I have lived in the West and have read the "squibs" now appearing in your paper in other papers published by you. I have listened until I am tired to the "sarcastic" slaps at present conditions which fill your paper, and know how confused a man's mind can become from reading such "squibs." 4th, I want to spread the principles and a knowledge of the tactics of the international Socialist movement; your paper never discusses either principles or tactics except in the manner that the principles and tactics of Populism were discussed, i. e., in the form of squibs an inch or so in length.

You and Edwards, along with Ignatius Donnelly, are all of the same bunch. What at one time you called "sound Populist argument" you now call "Socialist thought provokers;" you changed the name, but it is the same old thing. You and others seem to consider Socialism an exaggerated sort of Populism, and the only thing necessary in discussing it is a little more hysterics than was used in discussing Populism.

I am a Socialist. I want the era of competition to end and capitalism to be hurled from power along with the felon class that is doing its best to perpetuate conditions as they now are, wanting that, rough and bitter though I may be, I am willing to spend the time and effort necessary to give others an idea of what ails them and me, and am also willing to tell them HOW TO CHANGE FROM THE RULE OF CAPITALISM AND CLASS DOMINATION TO THE ERA OF SOCIALISM and freedom for all. But I am NOT willing to spend one second's time, or the fraction of an effort, to distribute papers which do not consider me or my class able to understand straight English when we read it, but think we must be fed on mental pap good for Populists and other weak-stomached people such as your friend Mr. Boyd, who is a bright and shining example of how many different ideas a man's think-tank can contain at one and the same time. He will certainly set the world on fire for Socialism, he has such beautiful ideas of what Socialism is, and such a pretty way of telling of them.

Keep your papers until Boyd comes back. Mr. Wayland, he's about the only one here who seems to like the article of intellectual grub you put up, the rest seem to be "proud and high livers," and will have nothing but solid substantial grub, and not something between an Ingersolian Christian and a ring-tailed Gozabo.

I will send you back your papers provided you send me the money necessary to pay their freight, but I shall certainly not distribute them. I have written as I have so that you will not be able to say that Arthur Keep thinks the "Appeal to Reason" the "best Socialist paper." Yours, etc.,

ARTHUR KEEP.

634 Mass ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Jan. 8, 1898.

Socialism In the Massillon, O., District.

To THE PEOPLE:—I will endeavor to inform you how the socialistic spirit is progressing in this "neck of the woods."

We are situated in about the centre of what is known in mining circles as the Massillon district, and have a Section of 20 members, nearly all of whom are new recruits to that ever increasing army of class-conscious voters.

Despite the fact that we are only beginners, our Republican and Democratic opponents have found some of the Comrades too "hot to handle" in an argument, and candidly admitted that they had caught a "tartar" unawares.

This, the Massillon district, is the home of Conservative Ratchford, who has been re-elected President of the Miners' National Organization. The method of mining in this district is known as "pick work," the improved mining machine used in other coal fields being unable to gain a substantial foothold owing to the natural disadvantages encountered. Nature in its formation of the coal vein has placed obstacles in the road of the improved machine, and it becomes necessary to resort to cruder methods. The average wages in this district compares favorably with those shown in the letter from Comrade Wallace, of the Glouster machine mine. Both, however, being starvation wages.

The improved machine has a tendency to reduce wages, because it deprives men of the opportunity to earn a living and forces them upon the labor market, where they must work cheaper than their brother in order to get his job or starve. The wages of miners are lower comparatively than most trades, despite the fact that the work is harder and more dangerous.

There are many reasons why the miners are in their present deplorable condition.

One reason is that the small farmer living near the mines (with several sons growing into manhood), finds that farming on a small scale is not very profitable when he has to compete with the man who farms on a large scale, so he sends his boys to the mines in the winter, thereby intensifying the struggle for existence among those who have to mine coal for a livelihood.

Another reason is the large displacement of workers by the mining machines, and machines in other departments of production, bring about the unjust condition of two men for one man's job.

Two men for one man's job means that the man who will work the cheapest will get the job.

It also means that you cannot enforce your demand for a just wage while another is without employment and food, for he is only too glad to take your place so that he can "eke out a beggarly existence" for himself and family. That was plainly illustrated in the big miners' strike when the West Virginia miners were glad to get an opportunity to work steadily and secure at the work that their Ohio brothers had formerly done, remained at work while their fellow craftsmen fought the battle against organized capital.

Another reason, and the most important of all reasons for the present condition, is that the miners have devoted their energies to organizing along economic lines and have neglected to organize along political lines. Their motto is "no politics in unions." They have refused to recognize the fact that economic emancipation is an impossibility for the working class, while they leave the power of making, interpreting and enforcing the laws of government in the hands of the capitalist class.

But the fault lies not all with the average miner, for he is so busy "storing up treasures" by laboring long hours in the mine that he places his entire business in the hands of his labor leaders (nearly all fakirs), and they see to it that any political party that has for its motto the emancipation of the working class is sat down upon hard. For this service they are rewarded by their political friends (capitalists) with a position where they can live high at the expense of the tax-payers of the country.

We are glad to note the fact that the working class are awakening to a realization of their true condition and the cause of it. It is also gratifying to see the progress being made by the Socialist Labor party—not so gratifying

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to those whose economic interests are directly opposed to the workers, though, methinks.

The much howled about prosperity arrived here a couple of months after Bill was elected in the shape of a 10 per cent. reduction. During the past summer we struggled to regain what we had lost, and succeeded in getting half of it, leaving us still 5 cents shy of the price we were receiving when the Advance Agent was elected President.

We have suffered a reduction of 50 per cent. in the last four years. Such is the result of this beautiful system of cut-throat competition.

One year ago last fall we polled 2 per cent. of the total township vote. Last fall we polled 10 per cent., and the coming spring we will put a ticket in the field, and by a vigorous campaign we expect to increase the vote of last fall. The fact that our opponents haven't yet got over the surprise party the Socialists gave them last fall, and the Comrades being quick to push the cause wherever an opportunity presents itself, also the silent but effective education working its way from voter to voter in the distribution of books, pamphlets and papers, setting forth the principles of Socialism, makes this a rich field for future work.

Workingmen and Comrades will, we hope, put their shoulders to the wheel and hasten the day when the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth will be an established fact, and when the so-called "dreamers" will be recognized as the practical men.

STEPHEN COWEN.

East Greenville, Jan. 30, 1898.

Improves With Acquaintance.

To THE PEOPLE:—Nearly two years ago I subscribed for THE PEOPLE as I wanted to see what a Socialist paper had to say. I did not at first agree with it in all things, and think yet that some things are not quite up to actual conditions when you describe the condition of the farmers. Yet I must say that it teaches a sound, true doctrine of how to better conditions, and it is without any doubt the best edited paper I have yet seen. Your fight on fakirs of all kinds is going to do more good than any paper I have seen yet.

I am sorry that so few farmers will see things as they should, and I believe with you that they will not learn until they are destroyed—which makes it hard when a man is situated so that he has to be destroyed with them. But one thing is certain—that Populism is on its last legs. You ought to read some of the Populist papers from out here how they fight among themselves as they see that they have to give up some of the offices they so dearly love.

C. W. B.

Hemming, Minn., Jan. 17, 1897.

PARTY NEWS.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS — Secretary Robert Bandlow, 193 Champlain St., Cleveland, O.

Specified Semi-Annual Report of the Treasurer of the National Executive Committe, Socialist Labor Party.

FROM JUNE 26th, 1897, TO JANUARY 1st, 1898

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand June 26, 1897	$628.86
Dues	1,442.20
Supplies	99.94
Agitation	17.35
General agitation fund	332.50
London Congress assessment	73.35
Defunct Section Adams, Mass.	128.80
Sale of Convention Proceedings	10.51
Total	$2,733.51

DISBURSEMENTS.

Salary of National Secretary (27 weeks)	$405.00
Current expenses	98.47
Typewriter's service	2.50
Rent (7 months)	105.00
Agitation	1,509.53
Agitation (leaflets & PEOPLE)	91.00
Party papers	75.00
Printing	107.00
Stereopticon, slides, etc.	5.98
Editorial work	57.80
Affidavits from Hazleton, Pa.	10.00
Error (General Agitation Fund) returned	5.00
Balance on hand Jan. 1, 1898	261.23
Total	$2,733.51

HENRY STAHL, Treas.

Audited and found correct:
AUG. GILLHOUS,
LEO. SCHMIDT,
H. BERGER.

HENRY KUHN, Secy.

National Executive Committee.

Comrade Stahl held the chair at the session on Feb 1st. Absent without excuse, Bennett. The financial report for the week ending Jan. 29 showed receipts, $79.15; expenditures, $20.49; balance for the week, $58.66.

The nominations for National Secretary and members of the National Executive Committee having been concluded, the Secretary was instructed to write to the nominees and ascertain whether they accept. Carless reported about his agitation in Massachusetts and Vermont. Lewiston has been chosen by the Sections in Maine as the seat of the State Committee, and the Section reported the election of the committee.

Charters were granted for new Sections in Woonsocket, R. I., and New Whatcom, Wash.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secy.

General Agitation Fund.

Previously acknowledged	$345.15
Section Paterson, N. J., part proceeds of flag dedication	15.00
Total	$360.15

HENRY KUHN, Secy.

Kentucky.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Jan. 25.—The addresses to be delivered by Comrades during the month of February are as follows:

Sunday, 6th—"From what source must come the deliverance of the working class"? C. Landolt (in English.)

Sunday, 20th—"What would be the result of the taxation of machinery?" R. P. Caldwell (in English).

Sunday, 13th—"The decadence of the people's liberties." F. Giffey (in German.)

Sunday, 27th—"The Debs' Democracy and the S. L. P." Jos. Vogel (in German.)

The meetings during January proved very interesting, and it behooves the Comrades to work for an increased attendance, especially at the English meetings. Fraternally,

A. SCHMUTZ, Organizer.

Massachusetts.

Boston American Section.—Because of the boycott placed upon the halls at 45 Elliot street all future meetings of the Section will be held in Unity Hall, 724 Washington street.

The next regular monthly meeting will take place on Monday, Feb. 7.

THE SECRETARY.

Missouri.

ST. LOUIS, Jan. 30.—On the evening of Jan. 15 Section St. Louis gave a masquerade reception at Lightstone's Hall, which proved a grand success, netting $33. At this occasion Comrade Henry J. Coelling delivered an address in substance as follows:

"Ladies and Gentlemen and Comrades—This reception is being held under the auspices of Section St. Louis, S. L. P. During the past year this Section had to go through an eventful history, a history rich in varied and instructive experience. It had to go through the throes of disorganization and reorganization. Men who had been looked upon as exponents of Socialism turned out to be the willing tools of capitalist politicians and labor fakirs. They came to regard themselves as the party, came to regard themselves as above the party and its mandates, and as a result were ousted. Now the Section is on a better footing than ever. (Great applause.) Now as ever it stands firmly on the platform of the S. L. P., on the platform of International Socialism. Now as ever it stands for the establishment of a system in which all men, women and children shall have full and free opportunity to cultivate and educate themselves in every faculty bestowed upon them by their Creator. Our Section does not intend to achieve these ends by going out into the wild West or into the woods of Tennessee and establishing co-operative colonies. It is going to achieve these ends in the only way in which great historic results have been achieved, by the only method sanctioned by history, by the means of the frank and fearless class struggle of labor against capital."

The next speaker was one of the men feared by the labor fakirs of the Mound City, Comrade Lewis C. Fry. He spoke about the clear tactics of the S. L. P., about the progress of the movement, and pointed out that the Socialism that is outside of the S. L. P. is the Socialism of crooks and labor fakirs of all degrees, and of men who are itching to be leaders to gain notoriety. He was frequently interrupted by applause and by shouts of "You are right! You are right!"

At the conclusion of Comrade Fry's remarks a voice from the rear end of the hall shouted: "I move, Mr. Chairman, that we give three cheers for the S. L. P. and the social revolution;" the cheering that followed was deafening.

At 1 o'clock the grand march was led, in which many of those present took part. Twelve copies of THE PEOPLE'S New Year Greeting were sold.

A Socialist singing society is to be started here. On the 19th of March the State Committee will give a Commune Festival for the benefit of the Press Fund, at socialist Labor Lyceum, 410½ Market street. Tickets 10 cents. Comrades should do all in their power to make it a success.

H. J. POELLING, Organizer.

Nebraska.

LINCOLN, Jan. 27.—Beginning with next Feb. 7, Comrade Martha Moore Avery, of Boston, will deliver in this city a course of twelve lectures on Scientific Socialism at the Social Science Club Rooms, 1450 O street.

The following are the dates and subjects of the lectures:

Feb. 7—"Philosophy of Socialism."
Feb. 8—"History of Socialism."
Feb. 9—"Socialism a Science."
Feb. 10—"Evolution of the Class Struggle."
Feb. 11—"Three Stages of Production."
Feb. 12—"Evolution of Money."
Feb. 14—"Discovery of Surplus Values."
Feb. 15—"Capitalists, Capital and Capitalism."
Feb. 16—"Competition and monopoly."
Feb. 17—"Trades Unions, Old and New."
Feb. 18—"Who Pays the Taxes?"
Feb. 19—"Woman's Relation to the State."

Lectures begin each evening at 8 o'clock.

Comrade Avery will be in Denver, Colo., where she will deliver six lectures, Feb. 21—26; in Davenport, Ia., six lectures, March 14—19; in Chicago, three lectures, March 21—23; and thence in Milwaukee.

This leaves two weeks not definitely booked. Should any Section between Denver and Davenport desire Comrade Avery's services (Feb. 27—March 13), they can make arrangements with A. S. Aley, M. D., Lincoln, Neb.

New York.

At the last meeting of the General Committee, Section Greater New York, the following resolution was adopted by a unanimous vote:

WHEREAS, The Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, a body charged with the guardianship of our two national organs, namely, THE PEOPLE and the "Vorwarts," and is also publishing a daily paper, the "New Yorker Volks-Zeitung," which serves as the local organ of the party, and

WHEREAS, The said association has at its last general meeting, held Friday, Jan. 28, 1898, elected as a member of its Board of Directors one Rudolf Modest, a notorious enemy of the Socialist Labor party, a close friend of Anarchist fakir Henry Weissmann, and of the pure and simple fakir, Dan Harris, and who, on the very night of his election, on the floor of the association, advocated tolerance towards the Anarchists in the columns of the "Volks Zeitung," and

WHEREAS, The conduct of the said association in conferring upon an avowed enemy of the S. L. P. an important position, enabling him to stand to the organs of the party in the relation of a man clothed with the authority of the association, jeopardizes the best interests of the S. L. P.; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we herewith express our distrust and lack of confidence in the association, and deem it of utmost importance that the members of our party should be fully informed as to the situation prevailing now in that association.

The next meeting of the May Day Conference will take place on Saturday, Feb. 5th, 8 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street, Borough of Manhattan. Delegates are requested to be present without fail as matters of importance will come up.

L. ABELSON, Secy.

Socialist Labor Party, 18th Assembly District of Greater New York. Sunday evening lectures, free to everybody, at Stuyvesant Hall, 351 East 17th street, near 1st avenue, New York City.

Business meeting every Thursday, 8 p. m., at 246 1st avenue, between 14th and 15th streets. Come and join.

Programme of lectures for February, 1898:

Feb. 6—"Trades Unions." Lecturer, Bernard Hughes.
Feb. 13—"Why we indorse the S. T. & L. A." Lecturer, Thomas Hickey.
Feb. 20—"Foot Pounds." Lecturer, Charles Teche.
Feb. 27—"Conflicting Social Dynamics." Lecturer, James Allman.

Lectures commence promptly at 8 p. m.

New York Socialist Literary Society. Sunday afternoon lectures and discussions on political, social and economic questions, at the Club Rooms, 100 Clinon street, New York City. Free to everybody.

Programme of lectures for February, 1898:

Feb. 6—"The Socialism of Capitalism." Lecturer, J. Allman.
Feb. 13—"Thomas Moore and His Utopia." Lecturer, J. Bernstein.
Feb. 20—"N. G. Tchernichewsky as a Socialist and Nihilist." Lecturer, S. O. Pollack.
Feb. 27—"The Origin of Government." Lecturer, N. I. Stone.

H. REICH, Lecture Agent.

Brooklyn Lectures and Discussions on Political, Social and Economic Questions, every Sunday evening, Wurzler's Hall, 315 Washington street.

FEBRUARY PROGRAMME:

Sunday, Feb. 6—"Trusts: The Socialist Point of View." A. S. Brown.
Sunday, Feb. 13—"The Good Time Coming." Peter Burrowes.
Sunday, Feb. 20—"A Revolutionary Poet." James Allmann.
Sunday, Feb. 27—"The Situation in China—and Elsewhere." Charles H. Matchett.

All lectures begin at 8 p. m., and occupy about 45 minutes. We invite discussion after each lecture, limiting debaters to six minutes. At 9:45 the discussion will be ended by the closing remarks of the speaker.

To Musical Friends.

To all musically inclined party members and sympathizers in the city of New York:

Some time ago the well known Russian composer, Platon Brounoff, donated to the National Executive Committee the music of twenty-one labor songs, to be published in an album. In order to raise the necessary funds for the publication it was decided to give a Labor Festival, consisting of solo and chorus parts of the labor songs. Every one must be familiar with the important role played by music in all popular movements, especially in revolutionary ones. Where is the Socialist whose heart does not jump, whose eyes do not flash and whose step does not quicken at the sound of the "Marsaillaise"? The revolutionary movement in this country is very poor in songs. This gap is to be filled by the compositions of Platon Brounoff. In order to achieve this object we have decided to organize an English-speaking Choral Society, to consist of members of the party and sympathizers. The object of this society will be to cultivate the vocal faculties of its members and to organize an English chorus of workingmen and working women. This society, besides singing labor songs, will with time take up other vocal compositions. The first effort of this society will be to prepare for the Labor Festival the songs that are to be published in the album. Platon Brounoff has kindly offered to give gratuitous instruction to all members of the society at its meetings. He also promises to teach all the rudiments of the vocal art so as to enable the society in time to produce cantatas and other works of a higher grade. The first meeting of the society for the purpose of organization will take place this Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m., at the studio of Platon Brounoff, at 29 8th street (St. Mark's place), second floor front. All Comrades and sympathizers possessing a good voice and a knowledge of the English language are urgently requested to attend, especially members of Damrosch and other singing societies.

Virginia.

RICHMOND, Va., Jan. 29.—Comrades and friends of the Socialist Labor party are herewith notified that our reading and meeting room, No. 212 North 8th street, is now open for all. We ask for regular attendance. Our first agitation meeting will be held there Sunday, Feb. 6, 3 p. m. Friends and Comrades make this meeting a success. Come all and bring friends with you.

The committee ask also for contributions of Socialist literature, such as books, newspapers, etc; also for photographs or engravings of Carl Marx, Fred. Engels, etc., to fit up our home as true Socialists should do, and make it a real home for the laboring people; also by regularly attending our business and agitation meetings.

By order of the Committee, with Socialist greeting,

CARL SCHULTZ.

PARLIAMENTS OF LABOR.

D. A. No. 1.

(CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION OF N. Y.)

Delegate E. Leske, of Ind. Bakers, Br. 1, was chairman at last Sunday's session of the New York Central Labor Federation, D. A. No. 1., S. T. & L. A., and delegate L. Pomrantz, of Pressmen & Feeders' Union, was vice-chairman.

Credentials were received from the Carl Sahm Club for H. Burmester and from the International Pianomakers' Union for C. Finkenstedt. The delegates were admitted.

The financial report for the last quarter was read and approved by the Auditing Committee and adopted.

The Arbitration Committee reported having amicably settled all details with the firm of Siedenberg, Stiefel & Co. for the Prog. Rolled Cigarette Makers' Union. The report was adopted.

Ale & Porter Union No. 1 remitted complimentary tickets and an invitation for the ball on Feb. 5, at 342 West 42d street. This was accepted and resolved to attend the same in a body.

Ind. Bakers, Br. 1, reported relative to the harmony proposition that both unions retain the respective names and affiliations, but support each other in cases of strikes, boycotts, etc.

A committee of five was elected to attend the ball of the Ale & Porter Union No. 1. As Boss Wimmer violated his contract his labels were withdrawn. A prize bowling has been arranged for the unemployed. A Control Committee was elected for the purpose of watching the union shops and preventing a violation of union rules. The union favors a May Day parade.

Ind. Bakers, Br. 2, reported initiating new members. Next Saturday a special meeting will discuss the harmony propositions. A committee will attend the Ale & Porter Union ball.

Empire City Lodge Machinists reported that they request a committee which shall investigate the letters, documents, etc., relative to the struggle had with the Int. Ass. of Machinists, and then act jointly with the N. E. C., S. L. P., in the case of McQuilton, a member at present in Liverpool, Eng., whom the I. A. M. is trying to boycott out of a job. This dastardly attempt will be fought with all energy. The committee is Ernest Bohm, Max Southeimer and Jonas B. Clayton. During the debate on this matter expression was given to the hope that at last a tangible case was established whereby it would be shown that the progressive workmen the world over would join hands for justice and right.

Silver Workers' Prot. Assn. announced its removal from 62 E. 4th street to 64 E. 4th street. Two dollars were donated to the agitation fund and they voted against the Joint D. A. meetings. They will have printing done only in a S. T. & L. A. office and recognize only tickets or documents containing said label. Furthermore, the members are only going to smoke cigarettes with this label thereon. A committee will attend the ball of the Ale & Porter Union.

The prize flag of the late Labor Day was drawn by the Bohemian Butchers' Union.

Prog. Typographical Union No. 83 reported gaining new members. Boss Standler, 107 Columbia street, consented to employ members of this and the Pressmen and Feeders' Union. They will attend the Ale & Porter Union ball.

Progress Club will hold its regular meeting this Friday at 385 Bowery. The Committee on Constitution will report. Ten propositions for membership will be voted on.

Progressive Rolled Cigarette Makers' Union reported that everything was in smooth working order at Siedenberg, Stiefel & Co. The union desired to thank the N. Y. C. L. F. publicly for its sincere and earnest aid given. The former foreman and scabs applied to the union for admission. They were fined and cannot accept work for six weeks. The Arbitration Committee was empowered to organize the shop of Leopold Miller & Son, who manufacture the "Leroy" Cigarette.

A committee will attend the Ale & Porter Union ball.

Pressmen & Feeders' Union reported that the United Maccaroni Workers held a meeting in the afternoon at 64 E. 4th street which was well attended. It was resolved to start an energetic agitation among the workers in this industry, and a continued meeting will be held this Sunday at 3 p. m., same place.

Daily People Minor Fund.

Previously acknowledged	$2,023.60
Section Paterson, N. J., part proceeds of flag dedication	80.00
12th Assembly District, Section New York	1.00
Section Oneida, N. Y.	1.00
Association of Working Girls and Working Women, N. Y., collected on ball of 9th Con. District, Jan. 22	2.00
Total	$2,107.85

HENRY KUHN, Fin. Secy.

Socialist Tracts.

Price of the following Tracts and Party Platforms $1.50 per thousand:

1.—"What shall we do to be saved?" A Sermon to Workingmen, by Henry Kuhn.
2.—"Socialism," by William Watkins.
3.—"Why American workingmen should be Socialists," by H. G. Wilshire.
4.—"Social Effects of Machinery," by Frank W. Cotton.
5.—"Socialism." Extracts culled from Robert Blatchford's "Merrie England."
6.—"A Plain Statement of Facts," by Hugo Vogt.
7.—"Middle Class Municipalization and the Municipal Programme of the Socialist Labor Party."
8.—"An Appeal of the Irish Socialist Republican Party to the Working Class Irish of America."
9.—"An Appeal to the Workers to Enroll Themselves in the Ranks of the Socialist Labor Party."
10.—"The Platform of the Socialist Labor Party" (with comments in the following languages, four pages: English, German, French, Italian, Slavish and Jewish.
11.—"The Firebrand." A humorous comedy in one act. (Adapted from the German.) Price 1 cent per copy 1,000 copies $5.00.
12.—"Reform or Revolution," by Daniel De Leon. 5 cents a copy.

Send your order to
New York Labor News Co.,
64 East 4th street, New York, N. Y.

THE DAILY PEOPLE
$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to February 2d, 1898.

$4,575.

The following amounts have been paid down to February 2d, 1898, incl.:

Previously acknowledged	$2272.76
J. Wittmann, $5; J. W. Thibodeau, $10; A. Morse, $10; T. P. Muldorner, $10; Thos. Curran, $10; all of Providence, R. I.	45.00
Total	$2317.76

☞ **Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.**

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.
184 William St., N. Y.

1878 **Twentieth Anniversary** 1898

OF THE

New Yorker Volks-Zeitung,

SATURDAY, February 12th, '98,

(Lincoln's Birthday)

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Eminent Soloists and a Chorus of 150 Voices.

BALLET of 150 Ladies! BALL!

Concert to commence at 5 o'clock P. M.

Tickets 25 Cents a Person. At the Box 50 Cents.

THE COMMITTEE.

Trades and Societies Calendar

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of $5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings.

Carl Sahm Club (Musicians Union.) Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Fred. 30

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1). Meets at 2.30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 East 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City. 30

Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street.—District I (Bohemian), 324 East 71st street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District II (German), at 213 Forsyth St., meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III meets at 1527 avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District IV, meets at 342 West 42nd street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1422 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m. 30

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every 2d and 4th Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.
273 Secretary: PETER STAPLE.

German Waiters' Union of New York. Office: 383 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m., at the same hall. 304

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1088, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters, 79 E. 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 12 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Fred. Woll, corr. Sec'y, Residence, 173 E. 4th St. 341

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 3 p. m. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 78 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J. 189

Skandinavian Section, S. L. P. Meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at 10 o'clock a. m., at Schuler's Hall, 231-233 East 2nd St., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weekly, SCAND. ARBETAREN.

Socialist Science Club, S. L. P., 34th A. D. S. E. Cor. of 3d Av. and 103d St. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday.

Progressive Clothing Cutters & Trimmers Union, L. A. 68 of S. T. & L. A.—Headquarters, 64 East 4th street, Labor Lyceum.—Regular meeting every Thursday evening, at 8 P. M. 303

WORKMEN'S
Furniture Fire Insurance.

Organized 1872. Membership 10,000.

Principal Organization, New York and Vicinity.

OFFICE: 64 E. 4th St. OFFICE HOURS, daily except Sundays and holidays, from 1 to 9 o'clock P. M.

BRANCHES: Yonkers, Troy, Binghamton, Gloversville, Elmira, Albany, N. Y.
Paterson, Newark, Elizabeth, South River, Passaic and Trenton, N. J. Manchester, N. H.
Boston, Holyoke, Mass.
New Haven, Waterbury, Meriden and Hartford, Conn.
Pittsburg, Allegheny, Luzern, Altoona, Pa.
Chicago, Ill. 229

☞ For addresses of the Branch bookkeepers see "Vorwärts".

Arbeiter Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse für die Ver. Staaten von Amerika.

WORKMEN'S
Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workingmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 139 local branches with more than 13,000 male members) is rapidly increasing among workingmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workingmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches, upon payment of a deposit of $4.00 for the first class and $3.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of $9.00 for 40 weeks and of $6.50 for another 40 weeks whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time $6.00 and $3.00 respectively. A burial benefit of $250,00 is granted for every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit for $1.00. Monthly taxes are levied according to expenditures. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be formed by 20 workingmen in good health, and men adhering to the above named principles are invited to do so.

Address all communications to HENRY SCHAM, Financial Secretary, 26—27 3rd Ave., Room 8, New York City.

"Skand. Am. Arbetaren."

Our Swedish Party Organ can be had on trial for two months for **10 cents.** Every comrade, who wants to help to push along our cause and who happens to know any Swedes, would do us a great favor by sending in the names and addresses with (or even without) 10 cents. Postage stamps accepted. Let the expected reader pay the price himself if possible, but at any rate send along the name and address.

SKANDINAVIAN AM. ARBETAREN,
297 35-37 Frankfort St., New York, N. Y.

H. B. SALISBURY, Attorney-at-Law.

Office for Consultation (Tuesday to Friday, 11 to 5) 50 Union Square, (offices of Workingmen's Co-operative Insurance Ass'n, etc.) New York.

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Brigham's Restaurant, Washington St.
Cohen's Book Store, Washington St., on the Bridge.
Croasdell's Store, Harrison avenue, near Bennett St.